

MAID:

- Attempt to get a Frege vote is  
unless -

if it passes, it will be so loaded  
with bad amendments as to be ~~unworkable~~  
the Reagan policy...

if it doesn't, it just gives people a  
free ride

As long as SC don't have accurate  
sub-labeled ~~addition~~ <sup>minerals</sup>

Walt Slooner became my correspondent

ding



(see Borosage ... May / Jan 83)

Independent halt to all <sup>disturbing</sup> RS weapons is  
only prudent interim approach to Freeze,  
and " " fall-back demand, if Congress Pres won't  
offer Freeze.

(or: a Congressional "general Freeze." CTB/minor  
testing.

(A full unilateral Freeze - till Epe accepts - is a simpler  
Congressional approach than a full "conditional, verifiable" Freeze.

- Recognize and address lobbyists' concerns -  
but look at them critically, in the light of alternatives,  
and broad aims...



Adabbo brought up P/CM in:

[Morrison] 31 Oct 83

Freige Monday

35-38 yes ~ 5 PM

MX: very close:

Environmen Delay: 125-50

Sasser - Tenn

Ford Ky

Dixon Ill

Andrews N.D.

Specter Pa  
(K. NW-)

Lobby group (12) Matt Hauer 122 Maryland NE  
(or 100 Maryland)

12 - Strategy Paper piece by piece

Tues at 1 lunch at Penn House

1:45 final strategy David Cohen

965-1928

628-7551

Zolotukhin

Vladimir Zolotukhin

NGO webpage

965-1928

message from  
Velikov

Call Rodon GRACHEV

aid to Dobrynin  
347-9499



- [What is the lesson of the Oct 20-22 Euroville demos?  
- Moratorium?

1 Nov 83  
Work

Stassen: Dramatic the costs — military, financial... —  
of not having a Freeze over the last 2-3 years.

[see Kennedy charts comparing SC/US weapons  
"under Freeze", and "under START" (what about  
warrior "without START or Freeze"?)

— What criterion do Freeze supporters base in supporting  
or opposing candidates for election?

— Dems, for freeze? (Common Cause lobbyist)

— " " who pledge to support "legislative freeze." (1)  
— incumbents who have <sup>voted for</sup> supported (or registered) a legislated  
freeze in 1984? (C.C./Mammy oppose this). \*\*

— Target "women + students." Students? are they with us?

Why not (this time, join registration drive + pickets)

blocks? [Labor? Churches?

+ Chicanos (Hernandez/El Gal/Alc?)

[CHANCE NEWS/  
POSITION? Improbable?

\* Panie: We could explore/offer moderate Congressional support  
for a legislated-freeze in 1984, but not bring it to a  
vote unless we could get 175-200 co-sponsors  
(possible, if most freeze supporters come on).

\*\* lobbyists strongly oppose [31 Oct 83]

— diverting energy to a vote on legislated freeze in '84.

— stigmatizing/opposing incumbents who are with us on  
most issues, + more important issues, and are better  
than this reveals — but who voted "wrong" on  
Euroville, [vs. MX] or on a Congressional freeze.

all 3 choices  
in 1983:

[It felt it was wrong to fail to lobby for MX (till later)

2) to have forced vote on Euroville,

Ft. Worth  
Texas...

"attacking those who voted wrong on this as 'bad  
guys' who failed us on "most important vote of year."

[(3) Probably, wrong to forgo go for resolutions, given this involved...]



Issues of priority: (+ signature, schedule)

Strategy: 1) Legislative vs. electoral

2) constitution

3) Intervention (Central America, ME) vs. Freeze

Hyp: <sup>(2)</sup> is "Either Presidential or Congressional Freeze in 1985"

(Unless: there is enough support - 175 cosponsors - for  
legislated Freeze in 1984: i.e. for major drive for a vote.)

4) Tell them: fight MX (P/CM?)

Negative

fight Build-down; (negotiation?)

Why not: forward funds

anti-set

P/CM?

on testing warheads

(Interventions?)\*

D-5?

(+ ballistic missiles?)

("Policy of intervention")

anti-set?

Kevin

OR SMs? (land-based,  
MIRV? or all, inc. SLBMs)

Global option, "US right & responsibilities"

\* Look to EU, FS, draft...

Ready: Over-riding political objective of the Freeze Campaign  
(as distinct from PAC) is to press Congress to suspend  
funding [unilateral-MX;] on weapons we want to Freeze.  
or bilateral/forward

[Improve Reagan, as Kennedy]

(but see reaction to O'Neill (400 x 2 in favor of Reagan)

+ Morley (attacked in Mass as "tool of KGB")

["Do you accept the President's version - of "concessions," arms,  
info, alternatives, negotiations - unilaterally, unilaterally, or not?"]

likewise, KAL-007. See note of censorship.

(Note bilateral "discovery" of hospital bombing - which killed more  
civilians than Ben-Ami died).



- Blacks (esp. prominent) are one issue also in terms of South Africa. So big that it would require us to redefine "Freeze."

Kirkman, international link.

George Sommers -

We should not give up possibility of getting a full, legislative Freeze in 1984; and should not be afraid of early defeats being demoralizing.

[ Jay Headlin, Common Cause: don't make a vote on Quick Freeze "the test" for election support in 1984. ]

Paice: Don't decide now the specific form of an legislative

Adopt principle: put the burden on Congress to bring about an end to the arms race...

First: build consensus around the principle that we put the burden of accountability

Paice: call "quick freeze" a "negotiations' pause"  
to show we are still committed to full Freeze.

- testing of warheads & missiles (ballistic?) - and deployment (of all? SLCMs?)

also, flight-testing of anti-satellite weapons

Priority is changing the complexion of Congress and if possible WH - so it will carry out an Quick Freeze + in 1985.  
To go forward with less than 175 sponsors would give weak impression in election year.



David Cohen — former head of Coma Care  
consultant to Freeze on Eisenhower

From protest to Politics (vs. "Resistance")  
(like

The issues are running for election.

The audience we are seeking is people who reject  
limited nuclear war as nonsense; + overkill;  
but who do get triggered by doubts about how narrow.

Mathews (?) Sprater, Allen Dixon (all)  
Sasser

[Build-down = Destroy Up  
Reduce Up  
("widening down the war")

Crucial to replace/best Reagan. He will be beaten  
by candidate who is ambivalent. Clear Coyness to hold  
his feet to the fire.

Keep pressure on Dem winner in Transition period  
between Nov 20 1984 and Jan '85.

"We will probably lose in NY by the same margin  
as in Ohio — possibly fewer (contrary to expectations  
in results of KAC 007); <sup>we</sup> have not lost votes, have won some.

get Randy's paper



Forsberg (win Keller):

go for limited halt (not "full legislated freeze")  
— not as giving up on full freeze but as asserting that  
"many items are beyond real controversy" — and those  
could be achieved right now, as most significant  
achievement of Congress ever, in our control.

Paice: Call Quick Freeze a "negotiated" pause because  
Congress can only commit for one year at a time  
anyway, ... and don't raise public expectations  
unnecessarily.

[No — a one-year "pause" could well be  
unilateral; duration should not be made hostage to Pres' negotiation! \*

R VN, more of McMahon — Hatfield was not  
a "pause" in US spending in VN —

it was a commitment to end war of Cong. action!

"Negot. pause" is a Admin move — and was  
put forward on week of Freeze in Jan 1982.

\* Moratorium should be ended only (at if then) by SC Testing,  
not by "failure" of negot. or "lack of progress."

Paice: Sen. - Kassebaum have substantial bipartisan  
support for non-binding resolution on land-based MIRVd  
ICBMs (which hostile to them).

Dawson has talked about res. with truth, but has done  
nothing.

Morrison: Cong. regarded ~~confusion~~ confusion Cong. freeze as important,  
but / says Quick Freeze right be more salable as  
(Bob Sklarman) a "negotiated" pause. //



21 July 83 Frege & Hately

## Citizens' Actions

- [ 1. "Strike" - Moratorium Oct 15? 20-21? Nov 15  
2. Fast for Life or Spring  
3. <sup>CD:</sup> Live/Non-Violence / Service  
4. CD in Wash? & Congress? Vigils - Capital/Offices  
5. Hands Around... Pentagon? [CIA; W] ]  
for - Frege signs at MLK Rally.  
(statements by MLK on arms race)

for - Stimulate Frege campaigns in other nations.

RK: On "Day of Mourning": Mourning & Dedication position,  
committed - prohibition of alternatives, not only in  
the past "Mourning and Rededication"  
" " " + Renewed/Commitment

Stassen/for: Show several alternative ways to avoid  
the deployment of P/CMs - programs, scenarios

GS: Mass. as Free Zone (toward vote in '84)

Mass. Legis. is for the Frege, and for cruiser fleet  
force citation pressure in Boston - but now

Boycotts of US and SU cultural or athletic events!  
(Olympics!)

Sanctity

TDA  
"THE DAY AFTER:"

A VISIBLE, PUBLIC, CLOCK IN  
CITIES, INSTITUTIONS (and press brochures?)

- 1. What about a Falklands-like crisis in CA or ME?

~ Lebanon

OR A (SU) "POLAND" / AFGHAN.

(Baptism) 2. Deployment of P/CM. → "World Day of Mourning"  
- Jan? 5 MINUTES OF SILENCE (black band) + Rededication

for on - Need for a "ritual" ("things") - for updatable, mass,  
Nations way for people to meet after R does "something."  
(like Bulletin "clock") - Work-shut-down? Silent vigil. [Poland!] Bells. (Fast?) Candlelight procession? Signs?



(Randy: take a Reader's Digest reader to lunch).

R is the father of the Frege.

7 March 83

Ed Mandey:

- We with learn to know each other or to  
sympathize each other.

We with learn to live together or we all  
die together.

- R thinks we can build D-5, MX, P... and the  
Saints ~~with~~ wait build corresponding weapons -  
and he calls us naive!

- He wants us to build weapons for CW - weapons  
we can use without the Saint responding at all -  
(or, responding in kind, or at higher level - either  
causing it all to blow.)

CD Phas: ~~There~~ There are blast areas and blast  
areas. You happen to be in a blast area right now...

If you are in a Transition area and you happen  
to run out of gas - because no one is tuning the  
gas stations that day... dig a hole under the car tarp, pegs...

[TK Jones .... throw 3 feet of smuth on the door...]

I've got lots of friends and people who work for  
me, but I don't know anyone who is going to be  
piling smuth on my door...

I expected to get an envelope telling me when I  
got to go in a nuclear war ... I don't have one and  
I'm not going to get one -

but if there aren't any envelopes for Congress, then  
aren't any for the rest of you.

Wk



= "But if Congress cuts off P, what incentive do SOs have to reduce SS-20's?"

[Make it conditional: no BM flight testing.  
anyway: ~~why~~ Now stop SS-21, 22, 23?

What incentive is R proposing to SU to stop these?

- "Why didn't SU 'respond' to US 'restraint': B-1

MM cutoff...

- "CM isn't as bad - why should SU care? (Morrison)

[Air defense expense;

Escalation Tool (by ME?) (see Comins!)

Keeps testing going - Prolif

Verifiability

[What if Morley set out to educate House?

- "I agree, P shouldn't be deployed - question is, who to convince that."

- Is it too late to stop P/CM testing? [If it is ... the 1984 is even "too late"]

- 'Doesn't that balance matter?

- How to get reductions?

- "Lack of demonstrators in SU"

[Explain: Why does an needed <sup>not</sup> in SU... compact sphere

"Prove their strength"

- [Critique 'no negotiations' approach as a supposedly "conservative", lower-risk strategy

"Poland Has a Friend"

- "Can we wait  
[~~Do we have~~ till 1985-86 to stop the arms race? If not, how might we do it sooner?



Jan Kalicki - 7 March 83

1. Fringe Platform in St. Louis calling for "unilateral" cuts in P/CM "on individualy" basis do some ... was costly in my loss some conservative votes for Fringe Res -

make Fringe must look like something they don't want to associate themselves with.

- even though in "all of the votes lately have been unilateral."

2. "If we don't pass Fringe Res in House - forget about stopping P/CM."

But - "It will be very hard to stop <sup>P</sup> Congress."

3. As members of Fringe must, we should stick to unilateral Fringe [till Res? After?]

As individuals, we can be members of ad hoc coalition opposing individual weapons - this works better than any "comprehensive" approach - like Morland's.

4. Strategy: <sup>3/</sup> Pass Res (mark-up on 9th; debate on next week, of 14th ...

("50-50" as of now)

- a) MX Report out - 45 days for Congress to respond. Good chance to beat MX (though probably "MR", "Midjeton", will be finished).

(More, Reagan-Cohen; "Building down" (Scrap 2 to build 1" - however, no restraint on kind of weapon, can be destabilizing, like START.)

- c) Mid-summer - or better, early Fall: hit P (Conte: "Why not cut out P?")